In speaking of illicit

intercourse with another man's wife, they use the expression *gun amot*, which is fairly translatable by 'steal' and is applied also to acts of theft in the ordinary sense in which we use that term. It is, of course, dangerous to rely too much on linguistic evidence, but it is noteworthy that to 'steal' a man's wife and to steal his ceremonial currency were once bracketed together, by a man with whom I was discussing the subject of theft, as crimes belonging to the same category, and that in some cases the same penalty has been exacted for both. All the people with whom I discussed the matter in relation to marriage gave me the impression that no distinction existed in their minds between paying for a wife and paying for anything else of importance.

The rules governing the operation of the custom are entirely compatible with this view. If the woman refuses to perform the duties of a wife, her husband can, and does, divorce her and demand his currency back—he is not receiving what he paid for so he repudiates the purchase. But if she has cause to divorce him, he does not get his currency returned to him, the break-down of the transaction was not her fault. If she dies without giving him a child, he will expect to be repaid, unless he receives a sister in her place. Pinari told me that the currency handed over in respect of Riro, the wife of his son Wasē, who had died, childless, not very long before my visit, would be returned, except one string, which was to be retained by her relatives 'because her body stays here', the woman having been buried at Kurtatchi. I have not seen a similar custom recorded elsewhere. If her death occurs in child-birth, and the child lives, repayment is made in part only, one string being retained 'for the child'. But if the child dies too, the full amount is usually asked and given. For a wife dying after having borne more than one child, no repayment is expected—the husband has had his money's worth, so to speak.

It does not follow that the woman is regarded as the absolute property of the man to do as he likes with. That is definitely not the case. What seems to me to be the crucial point was put very clearly by a woman, Matēv, on our way back from witnessing this very transaction, when the matter was naturally the subject of conversation. She said:

'Tab to wen nor a kiki pi mon.'
Thing pay we genitals of woman.

i.e. 'What we pay for is the woman's genitals.' That is to say,

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833 773 a man named in different versions Uskawu and Manatchire, who came from a long distance on a raft. One version of the story continues as follows:

833 773 539 The people of Tsiraun took him and made him sit down on the front verandah of their chief's house. They gave him betel-pepper, and skinned an areca-nut for him. Then they brought a woman, and made her lie down, and told her to open her legs, so that he could dip his areca-nut into her lime-pot. But Uskawu said to them: 'You give her to me presently, by and by I will chew betel at night.' He was ashamed because of the woman's genitals. Then Uskawu took some real lime, and chewed, and spat out, and the men of Tsiraun thought he was throwing up blood.

Night came, and Uskawu copulated with the woman. The men of Tsiraun cried out: 'Oh look, the man has broken our carved lime-pot.' Then the woman became pregnant, and the child grew large inside her. The woman felt it, and cried. The men of Tsiraun wanted to get a knife and cut her belly. But Uskawu held her fast, and said: 'Leave her alone, I will look after her.' The woman felt the child. Then Uskawu took a piece of wood, a short thick piece, and the woman sat down on it. Then he held the woman, and she gave birth to the child.

The child cried, and all the people said: 'What are we to do now?' Uskawu said: 'You leave us alone. The child is mine. By and by his mother will give him milk.' They asked him about the child's food. He went to get some food and prepared it for the woman to make her strong. She ate some and gave some to the child.

That is how men learned to copulate at the pudenda, before this they only did it at the armpit.

833 773 The story of the man who thought his wife's genitalia to be a sore, and had to be taught how to copulate, which is the origin-myth current in New Ireland (Powdermaker, p. 242), is known in North Bougainville, but is told of an individual.

833 Coitus usually takes place in one of two positions. In the hut, the woman lies on the plank bed on her back, with the man over her. The women say that men sometimes lie so heavily on them [845] that they cry out. If she is known to be pregnant, he tries to keep his weight off her; failure to do so is supposed to result in the birth [362] of twins (see p. 164). It is difficult for a couple to secure privacy for their embraces, because there are nearly always several other people occupying the hut, which is not provided with partitions. [839] They will wait till everybody else is asleep, but it is a favourite trick to pretend to be asleep and watch them. Or they will go to

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842 824 171 as the Baganda of Africa for an instance of the belief 'that bananas have power to effect fertility in women and of themselves cause pregnancy' (1927, p. 272).

842 824 789 Belief in the possibility of conception without intercourse is explicitly stated in the following 'prescription', which was given to me, with a specimen of the plant named *kɔ* (this has not been identified), in the course of an investigation into the uses of plants as 'medicines', entirely apart from any discussion on child-bearing, a circumstance which, in my opinion, increases its value as evidence.

If you have a grudge against a woman for refusing you her favours, take the bud at the top of a sprig of *kɔ*, and put it below the door at the [845] *babots* (women's entrance) of her hut. When she has passed over it she will bear twins, even if she does not have intercourse with a man.

842 171 There seems to be sufficient evidence to justify the statement that, on the north coast of Bougainville, belief in the possibility of impregnation without intercourse occurs among a people who are acquainted with physiological paternity. The words used by F. E. Williams in describing a somewhat similar state of affairs among the natives of the Morehead River, Papua, so exactly express my own view, that I cannot refrain from quoting them: 'I think we cannot escape the conclusion that these two theories . . . exist together, and that the second is generally accepted and overlies the first; but that the native, despite the inconsistency of the two theories, can at different times express a sincere belief in each of them' (1933, No. 128).

CONTRACEPTIVES

842 Recognition of physical paternity is clearly implied in the widespread use of 'medicines' to prevent conception. This knowledge is common to both sexes, and the practice is freely discussed. The 'medicines' are employed chiefly to avoid complications in the course of clandestine amours. Their use by married couples is rare, children being much desired. But one man told me that he had given one of them to his wife after the birth of their sixth child, saying that their family was now large enough.

842 824 A number of different plants are used for this purpose. One of the most widely known, judging from the fact that it was given me by three independent informants, from the three villages of Kurtatchi, Tabut, and Baniu, is the fern called in the Kurtatchi dialect *asam* (*Lygodium dichotomum* Sw.). The Petats people call

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throw away the leaves into the sea, where the tide will carry them away. We get a green coco-nut, we make a drink for her. (The word used implies a cooked drink, perhaps 'soup' would be a fair translation.)

'The father of the child is forbidden to eat fish, pig, and opossum. He is forbidden intercourse with the mother of the child, they are forbidden to each other. The mother of the child is angry and strikes its father (if he tries to have intercourse with her). He goes to another woman (wife) in another house.

'Sometimes the child remains inside its mother's belly. Then we make *poti*. We say: "What is the matter with the child, that it stays inside, it does not fall down." Another woman is fetched, to help. Soup is made of green coco-nuts for the mother. She is afraid because the child remains inside her belly.

'Now another woman gives birth, and something goes wrong, and she dies. Or the child dies in the belly of its mother. The women ask: "What about this child?" The mother says: "I am still carrying this child." It is dead in its mother's belly. We put a hand into its mother's genitals and pull out the child, then the mother recovers, and the child alone dies.'

COMPLICATIONS OF CHILD-BIRTH

While listening to this narrative I was struck with the emphasis which was laid on the pain suffered by the parturient, and the possibility of complications arising followed by death of mother or child or both. It has so often been supposed that child-birth in the case of primitive people is easy and relatively painless. It seems to me that this is by no means general. The woman whose first delivery has been described in this chapter certainly appeared to suffer as much as, if not more than, many primiparae among ourselves, and it is very clear both from the stress laid on pain and fear in the account given by Matēv, and from remarks of other women, that among these people at any rate, child-birth is not such a simple affair as we have been led to believe. On another occasion a woman gave birth to a dead child after forty-eight hours of agony. The attendant women became very anxious after twenty-four hours had elapsed, but they could do nothing beyond massage and the administration of various concoctions of leaves and betel. I was told that there had been a woman at Kurtatchi, the grandmother of a boy still living there, who used to put her hand into

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845 the vagina during delivery and manipulate a mal-presentation—'suppose the leg came first', was the example spontaneously given to me. She used to chew some leaves with the betel-mixture and rub them on her hand before inserting it. My informant, a younger woman, did not know what these leaves were. She said that very few women knew how to do this; when it was done the child usually died but the mother got better, otherwise both child and mother died. Matēv, whose statement apparently refers to cases where there was reason to suspect that the child was already dead *in utero*, told me subsequently, in answer to a question, that she had never helped to deliver in this manner a child that was born alive.

163 It is quite impossible to obtain from the natives data sufficiently accurate to admit of calculating the relative frequency of death in child-birth. Several instances occur in my genealogies, but the possibility of errors of omission in that type of material is so great that I do not feel justified in using it for statistical purposes in this connexion.

844 Excessive bleeding appears to be very common. The women
824 dread it, and there are many prescriptions for its prevention and control. The only one involving plants which could be identified runs as follows:

> Take the root of *bariur* (*Crinum asiaticum*) and the bark of *karū* (*Barringtonia* sp.) and pound them together. Put the pulp into a pot and pour sea-water over it. Heat some stones and throw them into the pot. The woman must sit over the pot so that the steam reaches her genitals. She must also drink some of the water. Then her blood will dry up and she will be all right and will not be ill.

Of the others, some are used in similar fashion, in other cases the leaves are made hot and pressed on the lower part of the abdomen, or are chewed with the betel-mixture, some being swallowed, and the abdomen massaged with the remainder.

163 Miscarriages seem to be frequent, and still-births by no means
164 rare. In discussing this question with Government medical officers it was suggested that the prevalence of malaria was probably at least in part responsible for this.

844 On the other side of the picture, there are, of course, many confinements where delivery is quick and easy. Another woman of Tabut, who had promised that I should be present at her labour, gave birth to her child before it was expected, and so quickly that no one in the village was called or knew anything about it till the

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844 enter it for three days after the birth of the child, and other men only after he has done so. But the latter part of this prohibition is not always strictly observed.

844 There are a number of medicines which are used to hasten a delivery if the women who are watching think it is unduly pro-
824 tracted. The following is typical:

Pupūna (*Pteris tripartita* Sw.)

Take some of the leaves, heat them, and rub them on the woman's abdomen. Squeeze the sap into water and give it to her to drink.

The use of other plants for the same purpose has been described in the account of the birth of Manēv's child. One more may be mentioned because it seems to be comparable with our use of an anodyne:

Wanōnō (*Erythrina*, 'the coral tree').

When the woman feels that the pains are very severe, rub the leaves between your hands, mix them with water, and give the water to her to drink; it will lessen the pain.

A number of other plants which may be given to facilitate delivery could not be identified from my specimens. They are used in similar fashion to those above described, or in some cases are chewed with the betel-mixture and rubbed on the woman's abdo-
[787] men. To the account of the use of one of these my informant
● 845] added: 'If when the plant is pulled up it is found to have a forked root, the woman is carrying twins.'

RESTRICTIONS ON SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

843 There is no taboo on sexual intercourse right up to the time of child-birth, but in practice it is discontinued towards the end of the pregnancy, though the husband may continue to occupy the same hut until the pains begin.

846 After the birth, intercourse with the mother is strictly interdicted. The duration of this period of abstinence was described to me in various ways: 'Until the child can run about.' 'Until the child begins to talk.' The criterion most frequently cited was: 'Until
[164] the child has yaws.' This tropical skin disease falls to the lot of every child, usually between one and two or three years of age. I estimate that, in general, intercourse is not resumed until the child is at least two years old. There is no taboo on the husband's

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462 the child at weaning. No instance of a child being forbidden the breast on account of a second pregnancy came under my personal observation, and I have no details as to its effect on the child, either physiologically or psychologically.

TWINS

845 Twins (*pūna*) are much disliked. The only reason I could elicit for this was that the mother could not look after them both properly, and that she did not like to hear them cry. Where no cradle is used, and the baby is the constant companion of its mother no matter what her occupation, it is easy to understand that two babies are [847] altogether beyond her power to cope with. No one would admit that such infants were actually killed or abandoned, but there was general agreement that the mother simply neglected to give one or both of them proper attention, with the result that both died, or the more vigorous of the two might survive and be cared for as usual. The fate of the twins rests entirely with the mother.

No twin birth occurred in any of the villages under my observation during my stay. One of the Kurtatchi women had borne twins, both female, some years before by a former husband now dead. Both children died during lactation, and rumour had it that she had deliberately neglected them. Of a pair of twins born to a couple in the neighbouring village of Ruri, one, a male, is now adult, the other, a female, died in early childhood from a septic sore.

Two explanations of the cause of twins were given to me, from different villages, both from reliable informants. One was that the woman had eaten some 'double' fruit, such as twin bananas or areca-nuts. The other alleged cause was that the woman's husband, in ignorance of the fact that she was pregnant, or simply out of carelessness, had, while cohabiting with her, pressed too heavily on her abdomen, thus causing the blood that was making the child to divide into two streams, one going to the right side and the other to the left, resulting in the formation of two children instead of one.

Mr. Gordon Thomas brought to my notice a case of twins born on the island of Pororan, which was explained by the fact that the husband had had intercourse with his wife after having attended a bush feast. Both babies died. He told me also that he knew of the following deformities: a double-headed child, one child with

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a single leg, and one with imperforate anus. In the last instance an attempt was made to correct the deficiency with a knife. All three children died. I have never seen a native with marked congenital deformity, and I imagine such children would have small chance of survival, but I did not elicit any information on this matter from the people of my own village.

845 [732]

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pigments. The *amro* of the *wagi'upi* (i.e. those of the novices who are *tsunaun* and therefore leaders of the group) take up their charges on their shoulders, the others walk. They return to the village, where everybody gathers to receive them. As they come up, all the people dance, the men doing the ordinary *kōma* and blowing the Pan-pipes, while the women, decorated with girdles of aromatic plants, form a line, and as the boys come towards them, do the special form of song and dance called *dāni*. Arrived at the centre of the village, the *wagi'upi* get down from the shoulders of their *amro*, and all the novices partake of taro and water, given to them by their *amro*. The women are not allowed to give them food as yet. This ceremonial return of the novices is called *wawats'upi*.

The novices then go down to the shore, if it is a coast village, and stand in line close to the edge of the sea. All women, not only the *tsina'upi*, pour sea-water over the boys' legs; this removes the prohibition under which they have been since the *wapi* ceremony, forbidding them to go into the sea. The women all rejoice because the boys have come back. The mothers pretend not to know their sons; they say: 'Before, he was a little fellow; we think this is another boy.' The boys may now remain in the village. They cannot under any circumstances return to the *nōnō*, and must avoid that part of the bush in which it is situated until it has fallen to pieces. They sleep in the *tobar* (boys' house) belonging to their own clan, and are from this time forward subject to all the rules and restrictions attendant upon the wearing of the *upi*, which will be discussed in the following pages.

For a few days the *amro* also sleep in the *tobar*. They may not enter their own huts or have intercourse with their wives until the *kwigin* have taken bamboo-lengths full of water and poured it out in front of all the huts belonging to the *amro*. After that the *amro* resume their normal life. If an *amro* has intercourse with his wife during the prohibited period, the *urar* will cause illness to come upon the woman, and should a child be born of such intercourse, it will resemble the figures of *urar* that are made for the *wapi* ceremony, that is, it will be without legs, and will have two heads, one growing out of the top of the other; this refers to the head of the *urar* appearing above the head of the man on whose shoulders it is being carried, who looks out of a peep-hole in the body of the figure. It is said that this taboo is so strong that no *amro* would dare to break it.

881 breach is death. The chief now gives each initiate a new name,
[553] which must never be changed or dropped. The names chosen are those of deceased *puts-putsi*, who thus continue, in name, to be present at such ceremonies. This custom is for the pleasure of Ndook as well as for the spirits of the departed.

While this is in progress one or more *muri-na-lium* visit the village where the women are still wailing and relate how So-and-so has been dissected by Ndook: his legs are in one island, his head in another, and his arms in still another. Occasionally one of the men smears his body with pig's blood and, standing before several of the women, relates how he was holding his child when Ndook killed him in his arms. Similar anecdotes are related by the newly initiated when they return to their mothers. The explanation for their safe return is that after Ndook had appeased his appetite with pig and taro he relented and restored them to their mothers.

Food is then divided, and as each section or village receives its portion, the men, placing the baskets on their heads, dance in the centre of the ground. They then retire to consume the food, which is known as *goagon* (sacred food). The women are not told that the men eat the food, which is ostensibly supplied for the consumption of Ndook, who if not well fed will wreak his vengeance upon the initiates. All traces of food are removed from the person and hands and faces washed before the men return to the village. They usually pretend to be hungry, and ask at once for something to eat.

842 The natives of Pororan believe that if a married man has sexual
●845 intercourse with his wife on the same night that he returns from a ceremony then she will bear twins. If a pregnant woman crosses the path made by Ndook in his travels the child when born will be deformed.

177 The inclusion of the wooden carvings in the Pororan Ndook
778 ceremony is only of very recent origin, dating from 1928. They are
88] copies of the images used in the Sailou district, north Bougainville,
[532] where initiation ceremonies form a far more important part of the ceremonial life than on Buka. These images were first imported
[139] into Malasang district, south Buka, in about 1920, being purchased with native money. From here they found their way to Hanahan. Prior to this date there were no images, and the ceremony consisted